1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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we might be permitted to go home, as we wished to do, particularly as we saw a thundergust from the west fast approaching; but the Indians, suspecting our design, soon came forward with poles and blankets, and in a few minutes erected a shelter for us.

The storm, though of short duration, was tremendous; the water, produced by the rain, flowing in streams; yet all had found means to secure themselves during its continuance, and being on prairie ground, we were out of all danger of trees being torn up or blown down upon us. Our encampment now appeared like a village, or rather like a military camp, such was the number of places of shelter that had been erected.

Fortunately, the husband of the deceased had reached the camp in good time, and now the gust being over, every one was served with victuals that had been cooked at some distance from the spot. After the repast was over, the articles of merchandise which had been brought by the two men in the rear, having been made up in parcels, were distributed among all present. No one from the oldest to the youngest, was excepted, and every one partook of the liberal donation. This difference only was made, that those who had rendered the greatest services received the most valuable presents, and we were much pleased to see the female mourners well rewarded, as they had, indeed, a very hard task to perform. Articles of little value, such as gartering, tape, needles, beads, and the like, were given to the smaller girls; the older ones received a pair of scissars, needles and thread, and a yard or two of riband. The boys had a knife, jews-harp, awl-blades, or something of similar value. Some of the grown persons received a new suit of clothes, consisting of a blanket, shirt, breech-cloth and leggings, of the value in the whole of about eight dollars; and the women, (I mean those who had rendered essential services) a blanket, ruffled shirts, stroud and leggings, the whole worth from ten to twelve dollars. Mr. Calhoon

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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and myself were each presented with a silk cravat and a pair of leggings. The goods distributed on this occasion, were estimated by Mr. Calhoon at two hundred dollars; the greatest part of them had, the same morning, been taken out of his store.

After we had thus remained, in a manner, under confinement, for more than six hours, the procession ended, and Mr. Calhoon and myself retired with the rest to our homes. At dusk a kettle of victuals was carried to the grave and placed upon it, and the same was done every evening for the space of three weeks, at the end of which it was supposed that the traveller had found her place of residence. During that time the lamentations of the women-mourners were heard on the evenings of each day, though not so loud nor so violent as before.

I have thus described, from minutes which I took at the time, the ceremonies which take place among the Delaware Indians on the death of a person of high rank and consideration among them. The funerals of persons of an inferior station are conducted with less pomp and with less expense. When the heirs of the deceased cannot afford to hire female mourners, the duty is performed by their own immediate relations and friends. But "mourning over the corpse," is a ceremony that cannot be dispensed with.

It is always customary, when an Indian dies, of whatever rank or condition he may be, to put a number of the articles which belonged to the deceased in the coffin or grave, that he may have them when wanted. I have seen a bottle of rum or whiskey placed at the coffin head, and the reason given for it was, that the deceased was fond of liquor while living, and he would be glad of a dram when he should feel fatigued on his journey to the world of spirits.

When an Indian dies at a distance from his home, great care is taken that the grave be well fortified with posts and logs laid upon it, that the wolves may be

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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found guilty and the wife was "permitted to draw off his right shoe and left stocking...she then tears off the lappet that covers his private parts, gives him a kick behind, and so drives him out of the house...."[75] Husbands could punish adulterous wives by thrashing them, or could obtain a divorce by bringing them before the chief or sachem. The woman's hair was cut off, she was deprived of her property, and perhaps even of her life, if found guilty by the sachem.[76] But Denton remarked: "It is no offense for their married women to lie with another man provided she acquaint her husband, or some of her nearest Relations with it, but if not it is accounted such a fault that they sometimes punish it with death."[77] One of the culturally sanctioned mechanisms for obtaining revenge upon an adulterous spouse was suicide.[78] A man's retaliation for adultery could also be seduction of the adulterer's wife. If and when the injured husband was successful in this venture, he made the fact public so that the original adulterer would be held up for public scorn.[79]

A widow, prior to remarriage, whether his wife had died of natural or other causes, had to recompense her relatives for her loss.[80] The duration of mourning was about a year.[81] A widow during this time had to support herself; she could not be given meat since a hunter's weapons were supposed to fail if he had given meat to a widow.[82] When the year had passed, the deceased one's soul left the earth and remarriage could follow.

Death

As soon as a person died the fact of death was spread throughout the community by a crier. The crier was a woman especially appointed and paid for her services.[83] This announcement evoked loud outcrys and lamentations from the general populace. These lamentations were continued intermittently in the house where the deceased lay until burial.[84] In recent times and perhaps earlier the moccasin game was played in the dwelling where the corpse lay.[85] The body was not buried at once because it was necessary to give the supernatural forces an opportunity to restore life to the corpse.[86] The length of time the body was kept varied with the season; it was three days in summer and seven in winter.[87] During this interval the corpse was dressed in new clothes and richly adorned and painted. Before noon on the day of burial a number

[75] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 108.
[76] *Ibid.*; see also Pastorius, 1912, p. 434.
[77] Denton, 1845, p. 9.
[78] Penn, 1912, p. 232; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 258-59; Loskiel, 1794, p. 58.
[79] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77.
[80] Penn, 1912, p. 232.
[81] Pastorius, 1912, p. 435; Holm, 1834, p. 143; Brickell, 1842, p. 49; Trowbridge MS.
[82] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 88; Loskiel, 1794, p. 64.
[83] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 249; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 269.
[84] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 89; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 269.
[85] Harrington, 1913, p. 215; Kinietz, 1946, p. 72.
[86] Trowbridge MS; Kinietz, 1946, p. 51; J.T.
[87] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 249; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 269; Trowbridge MS; Kinietz, 1946, p. 51; M.B.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

428 longed to the man, and bring it to one place. The friends do not keep a single article, for they wish to forget the dead and are afraid lest the smallest part of the property of the deceased should remind them of him. They give what the deceased has left to their friends and no one of his friends receives anything; even though he should wish to take something he will not do it through fear of the others. If a dying Indian leaves his gun or any other trifle to a particular friend the legatee is immediately put in possession and no one disputes his right. The widow gets nothing, yet whatever the husband has given to his wife during his life-time remains her property. Therefore we need not wonder that a married Indian pair should not have their goods in common, for otherwise the wife would be left wholly destitute after her husband's death. In like manner the husband inherits nothing when his wife dies.

● 768 587 According to ancient custom a widow should not marry again within a year after the death of her husband, for the Indians say that he does not forsake her before that time. At the end of this period, however, they believe that his soul goes to its place. A widow must endeavor to live by her own industry. She is not permitted to purchase any meat, for the Indians are superstitiously persuaded that their guns fail if a widow should eat of the game they have killed. Now and then a kind friend will venture to transgress the rule and give her some meat secretly. As soon as the first year of her widowhood is passed, the friends of the deceased husband clothe and provide for her and her children. They also propose another husband if they know of a desirable party, or, at least, tell her that she is now at liberty to choose for herself. If, however, she has not attended to the prescribed rule but married within the year, they 626 never trouble themselves about her again except, perhaps, to speak evil of her.

If a man's wife die, her relatives pretend to have some claim upon him until a year has passed. If he has remained a widower during that time they generally secure him a wife, preferring a sister of the departed, if one be living.

764 The burying places are at some distance from the towns. Before they had hatchets and other tools they used to line the

Marriage arrangements were always simple, but it was definitely considered better form for the negotiations to take place between the two sets of parents rather than between the individuals concerned. In this type of negotiation, the man's mother took animal food which he had killed to the girl's mother; according to some sources, a return gift was made of corn food prepared by the girl (Harrington, 1908, p.215; Heckewelder, 1881, pp.161-72; Zeisberger, 1910, p.78). It was not unusual, however, for the agreement to take place directly between the boy and girl in which case they might or might not go through these formalities. Loskiel, who is the only author who mentions the subject of residence after marriage, says that the newly married couple often lived with friends for a short time until they built their own house (Loskiel, p.56).

The man was responsible for building the house and providing axes, hoes, canoes, dishes and household equipment although the girl might supply some things. The man was expected to support the family by hunting, trapping and fishing, and the game which he brought home was the property of his wife to use as she saw fit. She was equally responsible, however, for agricultural produce and cooking; and if she were remiss, might be reminded of her neglect by her husband's taking to the woods without telling her he planned to do so. She also carried packs in traveling, tanned skins and fetched wood (Penn, p.30; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 155-160; G.Thomas, p.341).

There was apparently no strong pressure put upon the couple to remain together after they were married. Although later writers state that marriages were formerly more stable, they present no evidence to substantiate this. Polygyny was permitted but infrequent (Heckewelder, 1881, p.154; Harrington, 1913, p.215; Zeisberger, 1910, pp.78-9; Loskiel, p.57). After the death of a spouse, the widow or widower, but more particularly the former, was expected to remain single for a year, but it is clear that this was frequently not done (Brickell, p.49; Loskiel, p.121).

Social Life and Organization

Most of Delaware social behavior is a closed book to us as the early observers did not usually have long contacts with them in their villages. The early writers were aware, however, that the Indian expected to be fed when he visited them, and that they were always offered food when they visited him. Likewise they noted that gifts passed readily from hand to hand among the Indians although property rights were clearly understood (Lindstrom p.233; Danckaerts, pp.80 and 159; Penn, p.32).

The following games were probably played in this early period: footraces (Lindstrom, p.191); a gambling game in which flat bones,

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

volved in the act of desecration as long as they existed. Thus originated the ceremony.

At the present time (1932) we are told there are three of these dolls held by Delaware families. They should be, according to the rulings, furnished with a feast and dance annually. The Delawares still do so as occasion permits, this being one of the ceremonies most recently performed in the Nation. Dr. V. M. Petrullo observed the rite in the summer of 1930. The dolls themselves are kept in the families in which they have descended with their ceremonial obligations for so long that they are held in an attitude of combined reverence and fear. That the ceremony has become a burden to the possessor of dolls is evident, but there being no means open to them to dismiss the obligation under which they have fallen without incurring still deeper animosity of Mother Corn, the rites must be maintained until some event warrants the abandoning of them. In several cases it is recalled that individuals who possessed the dolls in the past had the dolls buried with them upon request. In such cases the obligation to perform the dance ceased. In other cases the doll image and the ritual obligation was transferred to the oldest blood relation or to another relative whom the owner regarded as being most worthy of taking charge of the obligation and capable of conducting the ceremony. It is understood that the three images in the Nation at the present time may be accorded the honor of the feast ceremony all at the same time, being brought together by their owners upon the occasion called by the master of ceremonies. Some of these figures are male and some female. They are dressed in cloth as Delaware style requires with bead-work or ribbon-work and the faces painted in red which is rubbed off when the ceremony is over.

As regards the history of the Doll Ceremony we have no succinct facts to go by. Certain of the Indians themselves point out its similarity to the Bread Dance of the Shawnee.[1] What the two rites may be discovered to have in common might subsequently lead to a suggestion as to their earlier

[1] To be tested by data on Shawnee rites obtained by Dr. and Mrs. C. F. Voegelin.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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764 of the person departed, if he or she made any statement as to what way he wanted the burial conducted.

[525] "All who wish to may come and sit up with the corpse. The men pall-bearers sit up and others who wish to play a hand game,* using usually a coffee bean or buckeye bean or a bullet for ball hiding—first under a glove or moccasin—and the other persons guess which moccasin he hides 764 the bean or bullet under. This is kept up until daybreak. At night be- 775 fore the "wake," the men pall-bearers discharge three (another says two) musket shots toward the sunset, then everyone must rise and give attention. The shots symbolize the departure of the soul of the deceased. Everyone must be awakened, especially the children, so that they may not become frightened. The widowed person or the bereaved parents stay awake all night. And just before sunrise another volley of two or three shots is fired which symbolizes lifting the soul upward. The relatives of the deceased stand in front of the shooters. With the echo of the discharge the soul departs.

764 "Now an elderly person, who has been chosen to officiate at the ceremony, must offer thanks to the Great Spirit at breakfast time and [761] perform the ceremony before the body leaves the house. During the funeral procession no one must look back,—if they do it indicates another of the immediate members of the family will follow soon. The speaker must be given one 'Indian yard of wampum beads' for his services, which do not end until after the feast on the eleventh day noon hour.

"One of the pall-bearers must go to the grave each day and build a little fire at the head of the grave for four consecutive evenings and the people must leave the house in charge of someone, for it must not be left alone for twelve days, and a light must be kept burning at the main entrance of the house for four nights after the death of a person.

● 768 "And note, the widowed person must also be painted when the face 764 of the 'departed' body has been painted. Four days after, 'divorcement' proceeding takes place in the form of a ceremony. That is, they must burn cedar in the house to 'fumigate' and the cedar water is used to wash the widow's or widower's head. If a woman, she is told that she is now no longer obligated to her deceased husband's family. She is furnished with new clothes throughout. With this ceremony she is 'divorced,' but the relationship terminology remains the same to the family she formerly was married into.

775 "Now the burial hole is prepared on the day following the sitting up 826 with the body at night—it is not considered a grave until the body is in 772 it,—and even now, in the modern times, we do not believe in taking the body to be embalmed, as we believe the life blood is the spirit that remains on earth until the deceased is admitted to the abode of the Great Spirit, which is the twelfth level of the Heaven.

* This is the common moccasin game of North America. For description see S. Culin, "Games of the North American Indians," 24th Annual Report, Bureau American Ethnology 1906, and page 99 of this study.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

764 this is done they dig down in the corners of a square four very long poles upon which they make three shelves, and decorate the poles with long strips of blue, red or green frieze, hanging like fringes.[6] Then those who have been the dead
765 man's relatives and best friends set themselves down for about the period of a month to lament the departure of the dead one, singing, crying, howling and lamenting, so that it is heard for a long distance. Now when this time is past they dig up the dead one and take all his money off him, which they put in a box and place on the lowest rack or shelf, then each one takes a knife and thus cuts the flesh off the bones of the dead one, wrapping the flesh in chestnut bark, which they place on the second shelf or rack, wrapping in like manner the bones into chestnut bark [and] placing them on the upper shelf or rack; but the entrails they dig down in the hole. Afterwards they still set themselves down for about the period of 14 days and further lament the departure of the dead, and when now that time is over, then their sorrow and lamentation are gone. Those who then are the
● [766] relatives and best friends of the dead take the money-chest, dividing it between themselves, and therewith go their way; but the scaffolding together with the other [things] remains standing as a monument until it falls and rots away. When
151 now the savage is thus buried the savages do not
784 wish to hear him mentioned by name again or to speak further about him. If the Christian should

[6] *Som buldaner hängiandes.* *Buldan* really means sail cloth or duck, but Lindeström apparently means strips or fringes.

202. Other relatives observe mourning — days	90-365					•	12	0	365	4	4	3-4		
203. Dread the approach of death	+			+	+	+	S	+	–	–	–	+		
204. Die in full possession of faculties (generally)						–	+	•	+	+	•	•		
205. Take leave of friends						S	+	+	+	+	S	+		
206.* Believe bodies will be restored						+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–		
207. Disposition of property—to nearest kin †				–			•	+		+	+	+		
208. to others †				+	+	+	•		+			+		
Lineage														
209. Nation divided into — tribes †				3	3	3	3	8	3	3	3	3		
210. Division for purposes of government				–		+	+	–	+		+	–		
211. On religious grounds				–		•	•	+	–			•		
212. Attended by good effect						+	+	•	+•					
213. Tribes are exogamous				+	+									
214. Tribes are endogamous										+				
215. Matrilineal descent		+		+	+		+		+	+	(+)	+		
Chiefs														
216. Civil chieftainship hereditary		–	(+)	–		–	–	•+	–	–	•(+)	–		
217. Son succeeds		–	(+)	–		–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–		
218. Brother first choice		–		–		+		+	–	–	(+)	–		
219. Nephew (sister's son) next		–		+		+		+	–	–	(+)	–		
220. Woman could be				–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–		
221. Election of civil chief		+	–	+		+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+		
222. By people		+		–		–	–	–	+	+	+	+		
223. By counselors				•+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
224. Installed by other tribes				+		•	•	(+)	?	–	–	–		
225. Can be removed				+		+	•+	+	+	–	+	+		
226. Chief names successor			–					+	+	–	+	•		
227. Can dismiss successor								+	+	–				
228. Any particular age at succession †						–		+	+	+	+	–		
229. Both civil and war chiefs				+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
230. Number of civil chiefs per tribe						1	1	1	1	1	1	1		
231. Number of war chiefs per tribe						1	1	2	1	1	1	1		
232. Boundary between civil and war chiefs		+		+		+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		
233. Civil chief has authority superior to war chief in peace	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
234. Stops on declaration of war		+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
235. War chief hereditary				–								–		
236. War chief elected				–			+				–	+		

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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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preferred if readily available and in many cases they were not. The length of time the corpse was kept before burial was given as several days by the two first-period sources giving information on this point (181). In the last three periods burial was usually on the day after death, particularly in summer. Pipe said that formerly the corpse was kept three days in summer and seven in winter, because it was supposed that the tutelar deity of the deceased might restore him to life. W. L. gave the same sort of an answer in a little more modern dress. He said that a body was kept one to three days, but that if death was from a serious illness, and there was no chance of his coming back to life, he was buried the next day.

The position of the corpse in burial quite evidently was changed after European contact (183). In the first period both Van der Donck and Lindeström described burials made in a sitting position either on a stool or a block of wood. Without the last detail this might be taken to mean in a flexed position but not necessarily upright. Since both these writers may have mentioned only the unusual and ignored burials in the familiar extended position, we are not sure from the documentary evidence whether the two positions were used contemporaneously or not. It is clear, however, that after some years of white contact, migration westward, and contact with other tribes, there was a change to the use of the extended position alone.

Opinion on the requirement of grave goods is divided in every period except the third (186). All the sources in that period and one or more in each of the others stated that clothes were the only grave goods required although other things might be added. Van der Donck and Lindeström in the first period, Heckewelder in the second, and J. W. in the fourth period all maintained that more than clothes was required to be put in the grave. The details of the latter's statement in connection with the actual cases described by him seem to explain all the discrepancies. He said that good articles left by a deceased person were given to the persons who performed the death and funeral services but that old, much-used articles were put in the grave. However, old cherished articles were frequently if not usually given to mem-

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

764 [768] bers of the family before death. Thus, while old articles were required, those possessed by an individual might be so completely disposed of before death that the requirement was impossible of fulfillment and nullified.

The statement of Captain Pipe that posts were erected only at the head of graves containing males apparently was in error, although neither of the other sources of his period reported on this element (187). The sources prior to him and the informants who followed him all reported the erection of posts at the graves of both males and females.

A moccasin game at the side of the corpse the night before burial was reported by all the informants of the fourth period as an important part of the death ceremonies (193). The game was introduced among the Delaware at least as early as the third period (see 447), but apparently did not become associated with death customs until some time after 1824.

765 Mourning observances show two very marked changes; namely, the dropping of wearing black and dawn visits to the grave (196 and 201). The wearing of black was reported definitely in the first period, ignored in the second period, both reported and denied in the third and definitely denied in the fourth. Starting in the second period, reports of the dawn visits to the grave followed the same pattern of affirmation, contradiction, and denial. The length of mourning of widow or widower is reported so differently that one cannot postulate any direction of change (194). Mourning of relatives is also reported with the same variation in length of observance (202).

761 775 Theoretically there should be a connection between the elements dealing with dread of the approach of death and belief that bodies will be restored (203 and 206). That is, one would expect a belief in the restoration of life to be accompanied by a freedom of dread of death and a lack of belief in the restoration accompanied by dread of the approach of death. Instead of this correlation, we find that only one of the four informants who denied a belief that bodies would be restored after death admitted to a dread of the approach of death. Of course, the [774] belief in the separate survival of the soul must be considered in

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

764 At the head of a warrior it is common for them to place a white post, upon which is represented in hieroglyphics the tribe to which he belonged, the number of engagements in which he had been engaged, of scalps which he had taken, etc.; but no post is placed at the graves of women.

763 It is very customary among them to take leave of their friends when death approaches. In this they generally exhort them to good conduct, to live in harmony with each other and thus to procure the favor of the Great Spirit, and success in their undertakings. Some of them who have led improper and dissolute [761] lives dread very much the approach of death, but others die in perfect reconciliation to their fate. They generally die in possession of their mental faculties to the last moment, but to this many exceptions are found, resulting from the nature of the disease or the impression which the idea of death may have upon their minds.

764 J. W.—Two men and two women not related to deceased were chosen to take care of things relating to funeral. In the death of a man, the men prepared the body while the women cooked; the women prepared the body of a woman while the men cooked. [768] The relatives divided and distributed good articles left by the deceased among the persons who served. Old, much used articles were put in the grave.

The face of the deceased was painted as in life. The body was dressed in Indian clothes which had to be new. If the deceased did not have new clothes, they made them.

The corpse was kept until noon of the day after death before burial. It was placed in bark house outside of dwelling. Moccasin game played on south side of fire. Two pairs of moccasins were used but only one bullet. Towards morning (three o'clock) one pair was taken away. Points in the game were counted with about one hundred little sticks. After the one pair of moccasins [525] was taken away the winner of a counter threw it into the fire. The game is not played now but some one, usually one of the attendants, sits up all night with the corpse. No feast accompanied the game but food was available for all visitors.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

202. Relatives observe mourning

765 JOHN JOHNSTON—All the relatives and some times more [observe mourning], according to the rank sustained by the deceased person.

206. Belief that bodies will be restored

775 CAPTAIN PIPE said that formerly the Delaware believed that bodies would be restored.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—Thinks that he lived on the earth in "the olden time," from the circumstance of his being born with his ears bored, he thinks also, that if his spirit should go to Heaven, after death, he may be again restored to life.

207 and 208. Disposition of property of deceased

768 In the cases where an answer appears in only one alternative it means that the property of the deceased went first to that group and the other group had second choice.

LINEAGE

209. Nations divided into tribes

619 Whereas all the others said the Delaware had three divisions, Turtle, Turkey, and Wolf, CAPTAIN CHIPPS appears to have considered the question in a little different light, for his eight tribes are, *Oo-nóm-ma-u* or Delaware, *Mùn-see*, *Mo-hi-ga-ny* or Stockbridge, *Waù-pon-no* or Mohekan, *Waùb-ping* or Opossum, *U-sópe-see* or Esopus, *Oo-nàh-ti-co* or Nanticoke, and *Scàh-ti-co*.

213. Tribes are exogamous

[582] See J. W.'s autobiography in notes under 103, *ante*, p. 104. The rules he talked about the old folks having were concerned with family and division relationships. He could not give any of the rules, but it is apparent that one of the things talked over by the old folks was the propriety of the proposed marriage as to blood lines and clan affiliations. Marriage might be either within the clan (as they call each of the three divisions) or without.